

**A new reading of the 1756 A.D. *Syāmasandesa*
preserved in the Malvatte vihāraya monastery
at Kandy, Sri Lanka¹**

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Abstract

Here is given for the first time an accurate transliteration of the original *syāmasandesa*, a Pāli letter in *Khom* script dating to 1756 A.D., sent from the Siamese court of Ayudhya to the royal court of Sirivaḍḍhanapura (Kandy). The letter gives an account of the mission and sojourn in Siam of the Sinhalese envoys of King Kīrti Śri Rājasimha, accompanying the Siamese monks who were returning to Siam after restoring the ordination of monks in Laṅkā. It contains a list of texts brought from Siam to Laṅkā, and is also accompanied by a *kammavācā* text, not yet published, which shows that the original mission to Laṅkā had been arranged, at least in part, to ensure the correct pronunciation of the stanzas dealing with the taking

¹ First published with the collaboration of the Venerable T. Dhammaratana in *Dharmadūta, Mélanges offerts au Vénérable Thich Huyên-Vi à l'occasion de son 70^e anniversaire*, dirigés par Bhikkhu Tampalawela Dhammaratana, Bhikkhu Pāsādika, Éditions You Feng, Paris 1997: 95-113 under the title “Une nouvelle lecture du *Syāmasandesa* de 1756 A.D. conservé au Malvatte vihāraya de Kandy, Sri Lanka”. The present version has been here translated from the French with new notes and an updated bibliography added by the author. The list of texts brought from Siam to Sri Lanka has been published again by A. M. Blackburn 2001: 217, according to a list given in Vijayavardhana and Mīgaskumbura 1993: 100-102 (none of them having seen the original); P. Skilling & S. Pakdeekham with their own variants readings and comments in *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam (PLTCS)* 2002: lxxxvii-xc. I am very grateful to Dr Peter Skilling and Michael Smithies who have kindly revised this new version.

of refuge (by which the validity or not of ordination is determined). An appendix contains a select bibliography of primary and secondary works pertaining to the embassies between Siam and Laṅkā in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The interesting comments made by Professor Oskar von Hinüber² published together with Dr. Supaphan na Bangchang's edition³ of the famous "letter of Siam" kept at Kandy since 1756, awakened my curiosity about the origin of the numerous collections of manuscripts in Southeast Asian Pāli kept today in the monastic libraries of Sri Lanka. In the quest for new and original documents to shed light on the history of religious relations between Sri Lanka and Peninsular Southeast Asia, I was entrusted by the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) with the systematic cataloguing of rare collections of Pāli manuscripts. These collections, public as well as private, had never been itemised or inventoried. With the kind encouragement of Mr. K.D. Somadasa, honorary curator of the Sinhalese Collection of the British Library, who informed me of the existence and location of many precious manuscripts, and under the guidance of my colleague, Dr. Jinadasa Liyanaratne, who introduced me to the Sinhalese authorities, I had the unique opportunity to analyse, *in situ*, several Southeast Asian monastic collections of great historical value which we are beginning to study in EFEO publications.⁴

Transcribed from the original Pāli (*Khom* script) into Sinhalese characters, then once again into Roman characters, edited, translated, studied, mentioned many times by renowned scholars⁵ and then cited as such by all the historians,⁶

² v. Hinüber 1988: 175-184.

³ First romanized edition published in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (JPTS), v. Supaphan 1988: 185-212.

⁴ Bizot 1993 photo 4; Filliozat 1995: 135-191.

⁵ Damrong 1916, reprint 1960: 211-295; Paranavitana 1935.

⁶ For instance: Dewaraja 1988: 131, note 59: "Some of these books which contain Pāli Buddhist texts written in Cambodian characters are still preserved in the Library of the Malwatta vihāra, Kandy [...] It was seen that from the early days of the reign of Narendrasimha, the Buddhist Saṅgha had become extinct and that attempts were made to restore it. The culmination of these attempts was the arrival in May 1753 of Upāli Thera with a retinue of monks and five Siamese ambassadors, sent by King Borom[o]kot (1732-1758) of Siam. In July of the same year in the presence of Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha and at his request six *sāmaṇeras* were admitted to the Upasampadā [ordination] with Upāli as their teacher"; Bechert & Gombrich 1984: 144: "The oldest *nikāya* in Sri Lanka now is the Siyam Nikāya, which traces its lineage back to the eldest of the monks who came from Thailand in 1753 to renew the higher ordination tradition. The last Kandyan kings decreed in effect that all monks must be of this *nikāya*, by commanding that all monks must be ordained in Kandy by the monks of that line"; *Syāmaṇaṅś nai Laṅkā* 1992.

the authentic *Syāmasandesa*, preserved in the treasure of the Malvatte vihāraya monastery, has surprisingly never been the object of critical analysis from the original text. Up to now, the authority of all studies has rested on unreliable manuscript copies, barely legible photographs, phoney transcriptions or new editions introducing “corrections”. The detailed examination of a complete photocopy of the original, provided by the National Archives of Sri Lanka,⁷ permits us today to cast new light on this document of great historic, religious, social and philological value concerning the relations between the kingdoms of Siam and Kandy at the end of the eighteenth century.

Description

The original was kindly shown to me in November 1994 by the Venerable Sumaṅgalathera, *anunāyaka* and curator of the treasure of the Malvatte vihāraya monastery. It consists of a long roll of sheets of yellowed *khoi* paper, glued end to end, measuring approximately 12.50 metres by 27 centimetres, protected by an ivory case itself enclosed in a silver cylindrical casket engraved all around with inscriptions.⁸ The roll is comprised of two distinct parts:

1. **The Letter proper:** 34 folios measuring approximately 35 cm to 37 cm in height, glued end to end on which the Pāli text is written in black pencil in a careful hand on 22 lines of roughly 24 large Siamese *Khom* characters per line (0.5 cm). Several folios are rolled on the edges, slightly torn, or badly glued causing folds which hide characters. Other folios are even shorter. It is possible that there are several losses of text where the paper was glued or at the edges.

⁷ Deposited in October of 1995 in the library of École française d’Extrême-Orient (EFEO), 22 avenue du Président-Wilson 75116 Paris France, under the shelf mark Manuscrits EFEO PALI 144. Gift of Dr. D. G. Wimalaratne, Director, National Archives, Colombo 7, Sri Lanka (under the care of the Venerable T. Dhammaratana). Another copy is available in Thailand in the library of Manuscript House in Nonthaburi (Bangkok), for inquiries contact the curator P. Skilling <vararuci@mac.com> or Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation P.O. Box 2036 Chulalongkorn Post Office Bangkok 10332 Thailand.

⁸ I regret that I was not authorised to note these; like the letter they are in Siamese *Khom* writing. The photographs taken by Venerable Dhammaratana unfortunately are illegible. I was also unable to note down the exact dimensions of the original letter. Those that I give are of the photocopy.

2. **Pabbajjā / Upasampadakkammavācā:** three folios of varying heights: 30 cm, 27 cm and 19 cm, glued in order, but upside down (no doubt by a Sinhalese who was unable to read the *Khom* of Siam) containing fragments of *Kammavācā* texts in another hand: the characters are taller, thinner, more rounded, and the lines are tighter. To the left of the text in the margin and on the reverse there exists a small foliation in European numerals. This foliation begins on the second folio indicating a sequence (1, 2, 3 etc.), but is often poorly legible or absent.

The photocopy is slightly blurred on the sides, and unfortunately illegible at points. I have supplemented the missing text from Dr. Supaphan na Bangchang's romanised edition of Prince Damrong's Siamese script text⁹ indicating the borrowing with brackets. The photocopy is presented in 34 folios, plus four double folios (31 to 34bis in order to offer a better legibility or a dark portion of the document), plus three single and three double folios (35 to 37bis) in A3 format (42 cm x 29.5 cm), on photographic paper with my own foliation in European numerals.

The form, the content, and the orthography of the text of the letter published by the Prince Damrong are not very different from the original preserved in Kandy. It is not a simple transcription, since errors have been carefully corrected, the spelling standardised, and paragraph numbers and regular punctuation, non-existent in the original, have been inserted.

We should note in the list of texts sent to Laṅkā the small changes made in the spelling of the titles which proves only that the orthography of Pāli was not fixed at this era in the milieu of scribes of the court of Ayudhya. One currently finds *atthakathā* for *aṭṭhakathā*, *saddhasāra*^o for *saddasāra*^o, *saddhabindhu*^o for *saddabindu*^o, *samohavinodanī* for *sammohavinodanī*, and *vinayya*^o for *vinaya*^o. For that which Prince Damrong read (or interpreted) in *paramatthadīpanīsāṅkhepa*, the original is muddled. I read, [*para?*] *matthapakāsini* [one letter illegible] *khema* (!) as most likely rendered for *paramatthapakāsini* and I do not see how one could render the reading as *dīpanī*! Is this the error of the scribe in making a copy? There is the possibility that the two copies (the original at Kandy and the duplicate preserved in Thailand) are different: the scribe in recopying the letter could have confused one text with another. One also finds: *cūlanidesa*,

⁹ v. Damrong 1960.

pālībuddhavaṅsa, *pālī anāgatavaṅsa*, etc. which exhibits the lack of concern on the part of the scribe for a sense of rigour or a simple orthographic habit. If one can suppose that a royal scribe was a man of letters and had a certain savoir-faire in order to be considered able to occupy a post of such responsibility, it must then be that liberties with spelling were admissible in his field during this era. For convincing support, one merely needs to skim through the lists of titles and the final headings of the Pāli catalogues from Thailand and Cambodia: they all exhibit the same anomalies.¹⁰

Of the 75 titles of works cited in the letter which I attempted to locate in Sri Lanka, only a single title (v. Hinüber 1988, No. 30, p. 176) could be found in the current collection of the monastery Vijayasundaramaya of Asgiriya in Kandy. However, it is not at all certain that it truly represents the fragments of manuscripts sent during this period. This is a matter of two extracts from palm leaves (the same ones!) preserved under the marks: Asgiriya Siamese 3 B and Asgiriya Siamese 12 B [*Sammohavinodanī*]—*Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā*, unfortunately undated. A dozen other manuscripts in Siamese characters in Sri Lanka are indicated by M. K. D. Somadasa,¹¹ but we have not yet had the opportunity to peruse them and compare them with the present list. We have recently discovered that there are many more to investigate.¹² Many missions have been exchanged with Siam¹³ and in the absence of clear dating of the manuscripts one cannot determine at which occasion they were brought to Laṅkā. However, they could have easily been copied in Laṅkā during the period where Siamese monks lived there, keeping their proper traditions and continuing to copy texts in the writing which was familiar to them. Only a chemical analysis of the fibres of the palm

¹⁰ For instance EFEO DATA Filliozat (available in EFEO library 22 avenue du Président-Wilson 75116 Paris, or on CD-ROM, for request write to <jacqueline.filliozat@orange.fr>). Go to 1. catalogues data, browse the files 101-104, 108-109, searching for words *kham* or *Khom* or *mūl*, the special Southeast Asian spellings can be checked in the notices selected by these scripts; for studies on Southeast Asian Pāli v. Martini 1937: 369-385 grammatical notes and Southeast Asian use of noting Pāli; Cœdès 1966; Cœdès 1914; Hundius 1990: 1-173 and particularly p. 24; Skilling & Pakdeekham 2002; Skilling & Pakdeekham 2004; Bernon 2004.

¹¹ Somadasa 1959-1964, vol. I, p. 107: *-siyam akurupota* 59, 61(4), 342, 374, 407, 437, 688, 756 and vol. II, pp. 70-80: *-siyam akurupota* 424 *-siyamvinayapota* 522.

¹² An attempt of classifying all the Siamese *Khom* manuscripts in the Sri Lankan monasteries is prepared by Bhikkhu Nyanatusita, Forest Hermitage, Udawattakele PO Box 61 Kandy Sri Lanka. Contact <nyanatusita@gmail.com>.

¹³ One should think back to Frankfurter 1907; Geiger 1953: 253-302; Abeywardane 1972.

leaves¹⁴ could lead to locating the exact geographical origin of the species of the palm tree used, and give an answer to the question: are these palm leaves originating from Siam or Laṅkā and at what date?

The second part of the *syāmasandesa* is incomplete, but is, however, of considerable interest. Ignoring the original letter at Kandy, neither Damrong 1960, nor Supaphan 1988 mention it and Paravitana 1935 neglects it.¹⁵ Most likely, the addition of this fragment of the precious formula to the end of the letter dated 1756 was probably executed in Laṅkā later (it is glued upside down, something a Siamese would not have done) in order not to distract from what remained in the letter: in effect, at the moment of the gluing, the beginning and the end of the formula were already missing. The duplicate of the letter preserved in Siam (lost today it seems)¹⁶ and edited by Prince Damrong do not perhaps take the formula at the end of the letter into consideration. Or perhaps he has neglected it in his publication since the subject of his work was the establishment of the Siamese lineage in Laṅkā. The publication of the letter would have been of great interest, yet the text of the *Kammavācā*, well-known by all Siamese Buddhists, did not need to be re-edited in this context.

This fragment represents, without a doubt, a part of the original text addressed by the King of Siam to the King of Kandy in order to assure the continuance of the religion. The historical writings, whether in Pāli, Sinhalese or Siamese,¹⁷ speak of Siamese religious missions dispatched to Laṅkā at the request of King Kīrti Śri Rājasimha. On these missions canonical scriptures were taken among which there was a copy of the *Kammavācā*.

This fragment of the letter pertains to the formulas in Pāli of the *Kammavācā*, used by the Siamese community for the ordination of monks.¹⁸ This fragment of the formula which in its current state comprises several words of the *Pabbajjā* and several more key phrases of the *Upasampadā*,¹⁹ represents without a doubt

¹⁴ Sirichai Wangchareontrakul and Kulpanthada Janposri 1992: 34-43.

¹⁵ Paravitana 1935 mentions this part of the document (from photographic negatives) on p. 58, Appendix IX: “As the *Kammavācā* is well known to students of Buddhism, no further details may be necessary about this part of the document.”

¹⁶ Supaphan 1988:185-86.

¹⁷ Lorgeou 1906: 533-548; Frankfurter 1907: note 11.

¹⁸ Bizot 1993: 31-61 in retracing the sources of the evolution according to the inscriptions and chronicles; facing p. 37 photo 4, Upāli represented on murals at Asgiriya Vihāra, Kandy.

¹⁹ Bizot 1993: 18: on *pabbajjā* and *upasampadā* transmitting the orthodoxy of the founding religious group.

the response of the Siamese clergy to the Sinhalese clergy. The preserved passage concerns the precise point for which the mission of 1753 was arranged: to know the correct pronunciation of the stanzas dealing with the taking of refuge by which validity or non-validity of the ordination was determined.²⁰ The pronunciation of these stanzas is clearly demonstrated by the same notation of the writing of the *makaranta* endings, distinct from those of the *niggahīta* endings. This historic dated document, notifying clearly this double utterance, confirms if there were any need, the preoccupation of the Buddhist community of this troubled period to conform to rules.

Transcriptions

In making use of these official documents I have been very careful not to correct or to interpret the text which I present to researchers as it is (as far as this is possible), retaining the stylistic, orthographic and punctuation²¹ particularities customary with Siamese court scribes during the period in question. For example, in a few cases the Thai vowel “è”, which does not exist in Pāli, appears in place of “e”. The original text is inscribed in a single passage without sections, paragraphs, or spaces between words and with infrequent punctuation. To alleviate the effect of the density in transcription and to facilitate reading, I have inserted spaces to cut very long compounds.

²⁰ Bizot 1993: 49-50: About the double utterance of ordination. Thanks to Mahādhammatrailok, we know the special method of the School of Sumana — the King of Satchanalai reports specifically — taught the taking of refuge in two utterances: first, *makaranta*, second, *niggahīta*. The words were separated (momentary nasalisation) in the first, and linked (continuous nasalisation) in the second. In 1750 A.D., at the request of the Sinhalese king who sent a mission to Ayuthya, a group composed by monks of the Siṅhalapakkha branch was sent to Ceylon under the direction of Mahāthera Upāli. The Siamese monks founded a new *nikāya* at Kandy which exists since then on the island named Syāmanikāya. For more details concerning the pronunciation of the refuge (*makaranta* and *niggahīta*) see Bizot 1988: 49-59.

²¹ I have kept the original *daṇḍa* (stick) like this | or this || indicating as well a pause in the phrase, sentence, clause or a new paragraph, or just a full stop, but with a lack of consistency to my eyes. It is clear that punctuation is not fixed at the time of the writing and it is the reason why I have not replaced these symbols with a romanized punctuation having no clear equivalent.

The symbols ၂၂ © ၂၂ or ၂၂ ၂၂ are decorative marks for initial or final punctuation in *Khom* writing. It indicates the beginning or the end of a paragraph, section or text.

1. The Letter proper

<193>²² <fol 1> | * tibhavalokamakūṭa uttama parama mahissara vara vaṅsa suriyendra narendrādīpatindra varottama khattiyajātīrāja varātula vipulaguṇa gambhiravira ananta mahantamahācakkavattissara vararājādhīrājanāthanāyakatil aka lokacudhānarāmarani karabhivanda anantapūjītamahiddhi nārāyanuppatti sadisātireka anekacaturāṅgabala bahala acalasuriyodita amitatejā ekādasaruddha issaravara paramanātha parama pavittasatṭhita devamahānagara pavaradvārāvati siri ayuddhayā mahātilakabhabbanabba ratana rājadhānīpurīramaya uttamasāmī sirisuvanṇapāsāda ratanavararājanidhi kāñcana kuñjara supatitanāgendra gajendra paduma dantasetavāraṇanāgindra karindra ekadanta sanimbaṅsadhara aṭṭhadisa nārāyana <fol 2> dasabidha rājadhamma dharottamamahārājassa amaccesu aggamahāsenādhipatinā mayā pavara siri laṅkādiṭṭe rajjasirisampatassa sirivaḍḍhanapurādhipāsī mahārājuttamassa amaccesu aggamahāsenādhipatissa pesitaṃ subhakkhara pavara vacanaṃ nāma | sirivaḍḍhanapurirājā siri ayuddhayā mahānagaraṃ nivatanapavesanattāya sīridantadhātuvalañjanaṃ mañṭibuddharūpaṇ ca pavarabhikkhusaṃghaṇ ca nimantetvā maṅgalarājapaṇṇākārehi saddhiṃ rājasandesam dūtāmacce ca pesetvā ekādasaruddha issara paramanātha paramapavittanārāyana dasabidha rāja dhammadharamahola²³rassa ca parama orassadhīrājassa ca datvā saccabandhanapabbate patitṭhitasiri buddhapādavelañjanassa pūjanabhaṇḍāni pūjāpetvā varamuni sīrisaṃgharājissara pavaravisuddhuttama brahmacariya mahantavidayāva sudhātilaka tipītakadharavara dhammamahaṇṇava paññānāya katissara paramācariyapavittasatṭhita siri ratanamahādhatu ārāmābhiramaya sam aṇasamosaravararasamghādhipatissa civarādīparikkhārehi saddhiṃ samaṇasandhesa aggamahāsenādhipatissa vikappabhaṇḍehi saddhiṃ subha akkharaṇ ca adāsi | <194> dūtānudūtesu rājanadīmukhaṃ sampattesu ekuṇa sataṃvaccharadvisatādhiḱāni dvesaṃvaccharasahassāni atikkantāni ahesuṃ imasmīṃ musikaṃvacchara somavāra āsaḷhamāsa kāḷa <fol 3> pakkhapātipadadivase | tadāha samuddhapākāranagarā vuṭṭhena senāpatinā naga raparamparāropitapaccakkhasandhesa pavuttiṃ sutvā ekādasa ruddha issaraparamanāthaparamapavitta nārāyana dasadhammadharamahola²³rassa sādaramahatā gāravenuttamāṅgasīrottamenañjuliṃ katvā tamatthaṃ ārocesuṃ | ekādasaruddha issara paramanātha paramapavittanārāyana dasabidha rāja dhammadhara mahārājā laṅkādiṭṭepāgatasāsana pavuttiṃ sutvā

²² The page numbers of the *JPTS* 1988 edition are enclosed within <>.

²³ Read: *ddhā* in the place of *lā*?

surasīhanādavacanena rattakambalasanaddharatta parikammachadanamaṇḍapa patimaṇḍitaṃ nānārājīvicittanāvamaṃ saajāpetvā maṇibuddharūpaṃ ca siridantadhātuvalaṅjanaṃ ca pavarabhikkhusaṃghaṃ ca rājasandhesaṃ ca maṅgalarājapaṇṇākāre ca yāva rājanadīmukhaṃ paccugamana kātuṃ vivaḍḍhakosānu senāpatiṃ āṇāpetvā nānāvidhena khādaniya bhojanīyena agelaññe bhikkhusaṃghadūtānudūte posituṃ ca yoggabandhaniyamāna parivāranāvāya siridantadhātu valaṅjana maṇibuddharūpaṃ ca bhikkhusaṃghaṃ ca paramparānukammena paccugamanaṃ kātuṃ ca yāva sattamocanārāmaṃ culanagara mahānagarādhipati kammakāre āṇāpetvā heṭṭhimanānāpadesa mahāraññā dūtānudūtārājapaṇṇākāra pesitapavarathānaṃ sattamocanārāmaṃ sampattakāle yathā vussitāvāse bhikkhusaṃghaṃ vassāpetvā <fol 4> musika saṃvacchara sāvānamāsa sasivāra sunakkhatta pavaruttama sattamīthiyāṃ patasso²⁴ ratanakanakamaya nānākāñcanalatārājī vicittapavarasākhanāvāyogesu yuttasuvanṇudakabhaṇḍaṃ ca saajāpetvā ekekasākhanāvāya siridantadhātuvalaṅjanaṃ maṇibuddharūpaṃ rājasandhesaṃ mahādakkhiṇa saṃkhaṃ ca dvekejeyyanāvāya samaṇasandhesaṃ subhakkharaṃ ca gāhāpetvā catūhi rājasiharūpādisattarūpanāvāhi rājapaṇṇākāraṃ gāhāpetvā pacchā ca purato pādāmulikāmaccāna anekasatasabbparivāranāvāya dhajapaṭākādīhi bhaṇḍapūjehi ca aññehi nānābhaṇḍapūjanīyehi parivārāpetvā samaṇabrāhmaṇā pi sabbe janā pi siri dantadhātu maṇibuddharūpesu <195> pitisomanassajātā mahānadiyā ubhosu tīresu pañcamalājādīhi nānāpupphehi aññehi sakkārasammānehi ca kamena yāva mahaṅgaṇatitthā nānāmahāpadesato rājasandesanimantanathānātāni pūjesuṃ | nānāvicitta sabbaratana kanakamayamaṇḍapaṃ kāretvā suvaṇṇarajata patimaṇḍita chattadhajjapaṭākādīhi abhiramayabhaṇḍehi susajjitagamanamaggaṃ yāva rājantepurā sampādetvā siridantadhātu valaṅjanaṃ ca maṇibuddharūpaṃ ca rājasandesāṃ gāhāpetvā chattadhajjapaṭākādi pavarabhaṇḍadhāraṇa mahājanehi bherisaṃkhaṇḍavādīhi ca parivāretvā rājantepurasamipe paramabuddhārāme siri dantadhātu valaṅjanamaṇibuddharūpaṃnimantetvā <fol 5> rājapaveṇiyā rājasandesapariyāya maṇḍape rājasandesāṃ ca maṅgalarā[ja]paṇṇākāre ca samaṇasandesāṃ ca subhakkharaṃ ca thapāpetvā anurūpathāne dūtāmacce vassāpesi | tadanantaram sāvānamāsa suriyavāra sunakkhatta pavaruttamasukkapakkhe terasamīthīyāṃ sampatte suvaṇṇaratanamahāpāsādatale nikkhamantassa amaccagaṇaparivutassa ākāse tārakagaṇehi parivuttacandassa viya paññatapavara rājāsane nisinnassa ekādasaruddha issara paramanātha paramapabiddhanārāyana dasabiddha

²⁴ Or *catasso*?

rājadhammadharuttama mahārājassa santikaṃ sirivaḍḍhanapurādhipati mahārājuttamena pesitadūtāmacce netvā taṃ mahatā gāravena sirasā vandāpetvā tasseva sarājapaṇṇākāraṃ rājasandesam dassesiṃ | taṃ suvaṇṇapaṭe pākatasundhararājavacanāṃ sutvā parama dhammikamahārājā sirivaḍḍhanapūrādhipati mahārājuttame uḷārapītisomanasso hutvā sirivaḍḍhanapūrādhipati mahārājuttamassa laṅkādipa senāpatissa kiccānukiccaṃ paṭi ārocetuṃ surasiṃhanādena maṃ āṇepesi | atha tayā pesitasubhakkharaṃ nāma amhākaṃ pākataṃ eva parama dhammikamahārājena maṅgalarājapaṇṇākārehi saddhiṃ navaratanacumbita nāgaratta suvaṇṇa jalitabuddharupaṃ ca suvaṇṇa potthakadhammaṃ ca bhikkhusaṃghaṃ ca rājasandhesaṃ ca nimantetvā pesitamahānāvā dvisahassa dvisatachanavuttisaṃvacchara <196> <fol 6> vesākhamāsa sukkapakka cātuddasiyaṃ sasivāre sirivaḍḍhana laṅkādipe tikoṇamālatitthaṃ sampāpuṇi | so ca sirivaḍḍhanapurādhipatinā cakkaratanapaṭilābhena cakkavattirañña viya pitisomanassena mahatussavena suvaṇṇabuddharupaṃ ca suvaṇṇapotthakaṃ ca nagarapadakkhiṇaṃ kāretvā taṃ buddharupaṃ dantadhātumaṇḍirasamipe vaḍḍhetvā rājamaṇḍīrasanne susajjitamaṇḍape dhammapotthakaṃ thapetvā pupphārāmavihāre bhikkhusaṃghaṃ vassāpetvā kulaputte ovaḍetvā saṃghakammāni kātuṃ visatiyā thānesu baddhasiṃmaṃ bandhāpetvā bhikkhubhāve chasatasāmaṇerakulaputte upasampādetvā sāmaṇerabhāve tisahassakulaputte pabbājetvā paramadhammikarājatejēna sirilaṅkādipe yāva pañcavassasahassaṃ sāsanaṃ paripuṇṇa katabbabhāvaṃ ca bhikkhūnaṃ sirilaṅkādipa sampattakāle sirilaṅkādhipati mahārājuttamena pupphārāmavihāre bhikkhusaṃghaṃ vassāpetvā tasseva samaṇasārūpe catupaccaye datvā karuṇāvegasaṃsāhitamānasena sabbādhamaṃ bhikkhusaṃghaṃ anuḷoketvā pūjāsakkārena siridantadhātu soḷassacetiyaṭhāna pūjanādinānākusalāni katvā parama dhammikarājādhirājassa rājakusalaṃ dinnabhāvaṃ ca sirivaḍḍhanapurādhipati mahārājuttamassa maṇimaya buddharupaṃ kāretvā sugandhajāte cuṇṇacandaṇṭhāne <fol 7> siridantadhātu valañjanaṃ kāretvā taṃ suvaṇṇarajaṭamaya nānāratanaḥacitte maṇḍape thapetvā dūtānudūtena niyamānaṃ taṃ tasseva dinnabhāvaṃ ca | tasmim rājasandese pākatapiyavacanāṃ sutvā pavara paramadhammikarājādhirāja uḷārapītisomanasso hutvā antepurasamipe pavaraparamabuddhārame siridantadhātuvalañjanaṃ ca maṇibuddharupaṃ ca thapetvā pūjāsakkārena kuḍaṇḍamaṇikāncana yuttamamahānavaratana cumbitarājāvatiya khacittādiḷe nānāratanaḥacumbite satarājike suvaṇṇabhājane bahūbhaṇḍapūjāni thapetvā dakkhiṇavāma pavaramuni siriṃsaṃgharājaṃ ca gāmaḃvāsī araṇṇa[vā]sīrājāgaṇaṃ ca nimantetvā

iti pi so bhagavādi buddhamantam²⁵ sajjhāpetvā tesam sasuppabyañjana
nānāpaṇitakhādaniya bhojanīyaṃ parivisitvā dūtāmacce netvā
puññakoṭṭhāsathāya bhikkhusaṃghānaṃ vattapaṭivattam kāretvā tesameva
ticivarādidānaṃ <197> datvā ādāsayuttajalita madhusiṭṭhadipena padakkhiṇaṃ
kāretvā mahāsaṃkha dakkhiṇādīpañcāṅgaturiyehi siridantadhātu valañjanamaṇi
buddharūpānaṃ sakkārasamānaṃ datvā sakkārasamānapariyosāne tidivāratṭiṃ
nānāmahatussavena ca nānāpupphagyāhi ca dantadhātubuddharūpaṃ pūjetvā
tidivasam suvaṇṇarajata paṭimaṇḍita kapparukkheṇa dānaṃ datvā
aggamahāsenāpati anusenāpatīhi <fol 8> saha mahussavadassanattam
laṅkādiṭṭapadūtāmacce ānayāpetvā yathā tehi upalikkhitam viya tesam nānā
rasasampanna khādaniyabhojanīyaṃ datvā sirivaḍḍhanapurādhīpatinā laṅkādiṭṭe
kataṃ viya dantadhātubuddharūpānaṃ pūjāsakkārakusalakoṭṭhāsaṃ ca tadaññaṃ
mayā pubbe nāropitadātabbayuttakaṃ nānākusalaṃ ca anumodāpetuṃ
sumanasākusalaṃ adāsi | athassa sirivaḍḍhanapurādhīpati mahārājuttamassa
saddhāsampannassa siri ayuddhayā mahāpuracetiyathāne saccabandhanapabbate
patitṭhita siri buddhapādavalāñjanassa pūjāsakkārabhaṇḍāni pūjetvā dinnabhāvaṃ
ca sutvā ekādassaraṭṭha issaraparama nātha paramadhammikamahārājā laṅkādiṭṭe
mahārājuttamassa rājakusalaṃ thometvā buddhapādavalāñjanassa pūjetukāmehi
laṅkādiṭṭepadūtāmaccehi saha rājamacce laṅkādiṭṭe mahārājuttamena
saddhāsampannena pesitapūjābhaṇḍāni gāhāpetvā yathāmanorathena kulam
anumodatū ti rājakusalakoṭṭhāsam adāsi atha siriratanamahādhatvārāma
nāyakassa saṃgharājuttamassa pūjetuṃ tayā tecivarādi sumaṇa paṇṇākārehi
saddhiṃ samaṇasandesa pesitabhāvaṃ ca ṇatvāhaṃ saṃghakammakāraṇe
mahāmacce teyyalokamaṇḍire sathitavara saṃgharājassa vandituṃ dūtānudūte
ānayāpetvā sabbam paṇṇākāraṃ dāpesiṃ | <fol 9> athassa parama orasādhīrājassa
maṅgalarājapaṇṇākāre laṅkādiṭṭepato pesitadadāpanabhāvaṃ ṇatvā te tasseva
sādarena datvā parama orasādhīrañña sirivaḍḍhanapurādhīpatimahārājuttamo
laṅkādiṭṭe sammāsambuddhasānaṃ thāvāra kattukāmo idāni laṅkādiṭṭe
atīviyavīrocitaṃ pubbakālasamaṃ buddhasānaṃ siri laṅkādhīpatissa
manorathānurūpaṃ ahoṣi ti atīviya somanassena vuccamāno sirisāhaṃ
sampaticchāmi | <198> atha tayā pesitasubhakkhare laṅkādiṭṭe dhammavinayādi
pakaraṇassa natthi bhāvaṃ tasmīṃ thapanatthāya samaṇalekkhapākaṭe

²⁵ Here the well-known *Iti pi so* litany is mentioned. For a detailed study, see Bizot and v. Hinüber 1994; in preparation: Filliozat J. and Antelme M., “À propos de la litanie *Iti pi so* aperçu des documents conservés en Europe” (in waiting for publication v. EFEO DATA Filliozat under 516. Ratanamala).

tadaññadhammavinaya pakaraṇe yācitabhāvaṃ ca sutvā sirasādarenañjulim paggahetvā abhivādetvā parama dhammikaṛājādhiraṅguttamassa ārocesi | tadā parama dhammikamahārājā sumaṅgalavilāsiniṃ catu atthakathā sutapīṭakaṃ ca paṭhamasamantapāsādikādi pañcavinayyaṭṭhakathāpīṭakaṃ ca moggallāna pakaraṇaṃ ca atthakathā vinayya saṭikā ca vimattivinodaniṃ ca rūpasiddhiṃ ca bālapabodhi sahaṭikā ca bālavatāra saṭikā ca saddhasāra saṭikā ca saddhabindhu pakaraṇaṃ ca kaccāyanāttha pakaraṇaṃ ca sampiṇḍamahānidāna pakaraṇaṃ ca dvi vimānavatthu pakaraṇaṃ ca dvi petavatthu pakaraṇaṃ ca cakkavāladīpani pakaraṇaṃ ca sotabbamāliniṃ pakaraṇaṃ ca soḷasakīmahānidānaṃ ca lokadīpakaṃ ca lokavināssaṃ ca <fol 10> jambūpatisutaṃ ca theragāthā therīgāthā pakaraṇaṃ ca anuṭikā saṅgaha dvi pakaraṇaṃ ca mahāvaṃsa pakaraṇaṃ ca maṅgaladīpani pakaraṇaṃ ca majjhimanikāya dvi pakaraṇaṃ ca papañcasūdanī atthakathā majjhimanikāya dvi pakaraṇaṃ ca aṅguttaranikāya manorasa(!)puraṇī dvi pakaraṇaṃ ca samohavinodanī atthakathā vibhaṅga dvi pakaraṇaṃ ca vajirabuddha(!) ṭikā pakaraṇaṃ ca nettīpakaraṇaṃ ca culavaggaṃ ca mahāvaggaṃ ca parivāraṃ ca atthakathā mātikā pakaraṇaṃ ca vinayyavinicchayaṃ ca ṭikā saṅgahaṃ ca anuṭikā saṅgahaṃ ca vibhaṅga pakaraṇaṃ ca dhutaṅgaṃ ca kaṅkhāvitarāṇī dvi pakaraṇaṃ ca pañcapakaraṇa atthakathā paramatthadīpani ca sumaṅgalavilāsaniṃ atthakathā dighanikāyaṃ ca silakhandhavaggaṃ ca mahāvaggaṃ ca paṭīkaṭikā²⁶ ca paramatthavinicchayaṃ ca saccasaṅkhepaṃ ca [para] <fol 11> matthapakāsini[sāṅ]khepaṃ ca ṭikā saccasaṅkhepaṃ ca paramatthamañjusā ṭikā visuddhimaggaṃ ca ṭikā paramatthavinicchayaṃ ca paramatthadīpani ca ṭikā khuddakasikkhā ca atthakathā theragāthā sārattasā(!) linī²⁷ ca ṭikā petavatthuṃ ca ṭikā sutanipātaṃ ca ṭikā cariyāpīṭakaṃ ca ṭikā nettīpakaraṇaṃ ca ṭikā atthakathā paṭisambhidāmaggaṃ ca ṭikā itivuttakaṃ ca atthakathā udānaṃ ca atthakathā cūla<199>niddesaṃ ca pālī buddhavaṃsa ṭikā buddhavaṃsaṃ ca pālī anāgatavaṃsaṃ ca atthakathā anāgatavaṃsaṃ ca ṭikā anāgatavaṃsaṃ ca ṭikā milindapaṇhaṃ ca ṭikā madhurasavāhiniṃ ca ṭikā vinayavinicchayaṃ ca yamaka pakaraṇa dvi pakaraṇaṃ ca buddhasiṅghanidānaṃ cā ti sattānavuttīpakaraṇāni laṅkādiṭṭhe thapanatthāya pitisonassena adāsī | <fol 12> api ca subhakkhare añño attho bhavissati | so sirivaḍḍhanapurimahārājā nagaramajjhe maṇḍapaṃ patiyādetvā saṃghaṃ nimantayamāno dhammacakkap

²⁶ The authors of PLTCS propose: mistake for *Pāṭīkavagga* (?)

²⁷ The authors of PLTCS give *Sārattajālīnī*. I remark that *sā* cannot be confused with *jā* in *Khom* script but could be pronounced the same by Siamese native speakers, hence the mistake? Anyway the *Sārattajālīnī* is not the *Theragāthā atthakathā* and a character *ca* should be supplied between *theragāthā* and *sārattā*°?

pavattanasuttādidhammaṃ desāpito tiyāmarattiṃ mahantapujāsakārehi
 anusaṃvacchare rājakusalamaṃ vadheti | ekādasaruddha issara paramanāthamahārājā
 purāganā devamahānagare rājakulupakamaṃ bhikkhumaṃ dhammaṃ desāpeyya
 rājamaṇḍire kamāsassa catuvāruposathe kāḷajūṇhapakkhe cātuddasīpaṇṇarasī
 aṭṭhamiyamhi | iminā ekādasaruddha issara paramanāthamahādhipatidhammadhammikenā
 dhammadānapasetṭhena dhammo antepure pañcamī aṭṭhamī ekādasī
 paṇṇarasīsamaṃkhāte jūṇhakāḷapakkhe ekamāsassa aṭṭhavāre aṭṭhuposathe
 desāpiyamāno avakhaṇḍaparamparāya antovasse temāsaparipuṇṇe tena dhammo
 rājakulupakamaṃ desiyamāno nibaddhaṃ acchindeyya kasmā
 dhammadānānisamsassa sabbadānato mahaphalattā yo dhammaṃ sutvā dānaṃ
 datvā silamaṃ rakkhati so magga phalañāṇamaṃ abhisambujjhī ti | tenāha
 maṅgalasuttavaṇṇanāyamaṃ sacce pi hi cakkavāḷagabbhe yāva brahmalokā
 nirantaram katvā sannisinnānaṃ buddha paccekabuddhakhīṇāsavānaṃ
 kadalīgabbhasadisāni cīvarāni dadeyya tasmaṃ samāgame catuppadikagāthāya
 katānumodanā se[ṭṭhā | taṇhi dānaṃ tassā gāthāya] <fol 13> soḷasikalamaṃ nāgghati

yo dhammacārī kāyena vācāya uda cetasā
 idheva naṃ pasamsanti peccasagge pamodatī ti ||

api ca dhammadānānisamsamaṃ buddhasetṭhena pakāsitaṃ ye janā sakham
 icchanti te dhammaṃ sakkaccamaṃ suṇantu desanāpariyosāne sātthikā
 dhammadesanā ti | aggamahāsenādhi <200> pati laṅkāyamaṃ taṃ pavuttiṃ
 nayituṃ nāroceyya tassa pākataṃ | so laṅkindo rājā rājakulupakamaṃ dhammaṃ
 desāpento rājanivesane pañcamī aṭṭha ekādasī paṇṇarasīsamaṃkhāte ekamāsassa
 aṭṭhavāruposathe vassūpanāyike upakatthe rājakulupakamaṃ bhikkhumaṃ dhammaṃ
 desiyamāno niccamaṃ nibaddhaṃ temāsaparipuṇṇamaṃ devanagarasadisamaṃ hotu |
 taṃ kusalamaṃ sirivaḍḍhanapurīrājuttamassa rañño saṃvadeyya anāgate | atha
 sirivaḍḍhanapure buddhasāsanamaṃ pabbajjuppasampadadānavattānavattānusitṭ
 hā saṃghikamaṃ saññaṃ na pākataṃ bhaveyya | sirivaḍḍhanamahārājā rājaporīsamaṃ
 saṃghavaram cātupārisuddha silavisuddhiṃ āyācanatthāya devamahānagare
 bhikkhusamaṃgho pabbajjuppadaparamo²⁸ laṅkādiṇe kulaputte ovadati laṅkādiṇe
 buddhasāsanamaṃ thāvaram khemaṃ abhivaḍḍhayī ti apesayī | idāni tassa rañño
 manorathamaṃ abhipūrayī | api ca sabbe bhikkhū upālittherādayo pamādaṃ
 pāvacaṇenānanucchavikamaṃ disvā pamocanatthāya saṃsāradukkhato anusā <fol
 14> siyamānā sugatibhūmiṃ paṭṭhanānucchavikena sampāpuṇiṃsu | tenāha
 porāñācariyo saddhāpubbaṅgamaṃ puññaṃ api kiñci punappunaṃ pasannā tisu

²⁸ pabbajjuppadarahe?

kālesu labbhanti tividham sukham | api ca mahāvisuddhametrī anuvicitavādī
anubibiddha sanehānāmikehi tihi rājapurisehi bhikkhusaṃghehi saddhiṃ
āriyamunī pamukhehi nikkhamitvā nivattamānehi sabbe laṅkāvāsino
senāpatimahāmaccaḍḍayo saṃghasannipāte vihāre buddha patimākaravisaye
pavīsivā naccasila uposathasile samādayitvā dhammaṃ suṇantā kaṅcukūṇhisāni
paṭimukkamsa tadā therā cattāro bhikkhū upālītherādayo paṭipadaṃ
ananucchavikaṃ disvā sāsetvā vā kathetvā vā te kaṅcukaṃ mikkarū
muñcāpeyyuṃ ekamsaṃ karitvā upagañchituṃ senāpatimahāmacca
ovādasānaṃ nānukariṃsūti evaṃ vuttaṃ | <201> trīnisakkrasaṃvacchare
rājasanḍesaṃ niyamānamahāmacca ca idāni pavesitamahāmacca ca dveme dūtā
yasmim yasmim padese buddharūpaṃ paṇāmituṃ niyamānā
buddhapādaḍḍaṇḍaṇaṃ paṇāmituṃ ca rājapurisehi ayuttaṃ disvā vāciyamānā
kaṅcukūṇhisāni ca muñciyamānekamsaṃ karitvā nuppasakamituṃ anurūpaṃ
passamānānukareyyuṃ tāni te omuñciyamānā cattāro therā upālīdayo laṅkādipe
vasamānā ovadeyyuṃ senāpatimahājanānaṃ punapunaṃ eva ekaccā <fol 15>
nukari ekaccā nānukari ekaccānukarivā yaṃ kiñci puggaladutiyaṃ
anukariyamānaṃ adisvā lajamaṇānānukariṃsu | sakala sirivaḍḍhanapurivijitavāsī
brāhmaṇo hi mamāyitvā taṃ uṇhisapaṭimukkaṃ sasirasadisam
uṇhisūkkujayamānāsisisadisam kaṅcukapāruppanaṃ uccākulapuggalaṃ va
kaṅcukumuñcanam pi hinajātipuggalasarikkhakaṃ ti katheyyuṃ | api ca
brāhmaṇā senāpatimahāmaccaḍḍayo buddhasāsane passannamānā tehi therehi
upālīpamukkhehi sadā kaṅcukamikkare omuñcāpetuṃ vāriyamānā na honti te
brāhmaṇā bhikkhusaṅghaṃ buddha pamukkhaṇ ca paṇāmituṃ āramaṇaṃ
pavesanato bhikkhūhi vāriyamānā buddhasāsanānucchavikena sace pi ye
diṭṭhimānaṃ atinānucchavikaṇ ceva na paggaṇhayaṃ te puggalā kavindena
pasamsitabbā ti ativiya kusalaṃ labbheyyuṃ | tenāhū porāṇā
manussavinayavaṇṇanāyaṃ ye chattaṃ vā pattaṃ vā dhārentā vihāra
cetiya bodhirukkha buddhapatimāya simāmaṇḍale pavissanti te niriye pattaṃ
antamaso upāhanaṃ abhiruyhitvā tasmim tasmim simāmaṇḍale pavissanti te
niriye pattaṃ ye hatthī assā sivika ratha yānādayo yāne abhiruyhitvā tasmim
tasmim vihārūpaccāre pavissanti te niriye pattaṃ antamaso pi sisavetṭhanaṃ vā
kaṅcukaṃ vā pārumpitvā tasmim tasmim <fol 16> maṇḍale pavissanti te niriye
pattaṃ ye buddhaṇ ca dhammaṇ ca saṃghaṇ ca saraṇaṃ gatā te catu ariyasaccāni
samapaññāya passanti²⁹ etaṃ kho saraṇaṃ khemaṃ etaṃ kho saraṇuttamaṃ

²⁹ From *ye buddhaṃ to passanti*, cf. *Dhammapada* 190.

etaṃ saraṇāgamma sabbadukkhā pamuccatī ti ||³⁰ <202> api ca pācittiyavinayavaṇṇanā na chattapānissa agilānassa dhammo desetabbo na pādukāruṇhassa agilānassa dhammo desetabbo na veṭṭhitasissa agilānassa dhammo desetabbo na ogaṇṭhitassa agilānassa dhammo desetabbo yo pādukāruṇhanto hatthapāsaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ pavisitvā pañcasila aṭṭhasilāni samāditvā dhammaṃ sutvā piṇḍipātaṃ paṇāmento so buddhasāsane agāraṃ yo koci evaṃ akiriyamāno buddhasāsane sagāraṃ katvā ratanattayamāmaṃ hoti tasmim̃ saraṇāgamaṇaṃ tiṭṭhati so uppapilakupaccheda kammaṃkhamātaṃ pāpakamma virahito ti veditabbā | aggamahāsenādhipati laṅkāyaṃ taṃ atthaṃ ubhayapakaraṇe saṃvijamānaṃ nayitvāna pākaṭaṃ ārocetvā sirivaḍhana mahārājuttamassa brāhmaṇānaṃ buddha āṇācakkamaṃ narindaṃ paṭiyādetvā kusala <fol 17> bhivaḍhanāya laṅkindamahārājuttamassa ca | atha tassa rājamaṇḍirasamipaparamabuddhārāma vihārerājapurisena dutānuditāmaccānaṃ āniyapavesanabhāvo buddha ratanabimbaṃ ca siridantadhātu valaṅjanaṃ ca dinamāheva ahoṣi | tayo dūtā ca sa uṇṇisaṃ buddhabimbaṃ nikkhasuvaṇṇamāyaṃ tassa paṭirupakaṃ disvā navaratanamaṇḍitaṃ maṇimuttāveduriyādikaṃ mahagghaṃ sundharamaṇḍape susaṇṭhitaṃ nānājātarupa rajaṭamāyakhacittaṃ disvā aññaṃ buddharupaṃ ca hadayena samsayamānā taṃ buddhabimbaṃ navaratanamaṇḍitaṃ eva rupam eva laṅkāyaṃ na hoteva tasmā ayaṃ buddhabimbo evarūpo paṭimaṇḍito devaputtasadiṣo va ahoṣi ti mābravaṃ | so rājādhirājuttamo rājajiccaṃ abhikusalaṃ vitathaṃ buddhavaccanena nānukareyya buddhabimbo makutaṅgambito idiso va mahājambūpati vatthumhi pākaṭo ti vatvā taṃ nidānaṃ pākaṭaṃ vācento rājapuriso evaṃ āha | jambūpativatthum pesamānāmhase laṅkādiṭṭhe sāsitaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ aggamahāsenādhipati laṅkāyaṃ laṅkādiṭṭhāduttama rājassa taṃ ārocayitvāna imaṃ vatthum pesento saṃghavarānāyakuṭṭhamassa vicāretvā vimatiharanattāya <fol 18> sabbesaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ ca laṅkindaṃ taṃ buddhabimbaṃ sabbanavaratana paṭimaṇḍitaṃ edisaṃ kāresi <203> kusala bhīyobhāvāya laṅkādiṭṭhe sirivaḍhanapurivijite ti | api ca dutānuditāmaccā vicitta kāñcana rajaṭa ratanapaṭimaṇḍite parama buddhārāma vihāre manoramma maṇḍape buddhasiṅgarūpaṃ disvā taṃ ajānitvā nidānaṃ kathāpesum savanāya | rājapuriso taṃ āharitvā dūtānuditānaṃ taṃ pākaṭaṃ kathesi | dutānuditāmaccā imaṃ sirivaḍhananagare natthi siṅganidānaṃ ti abravuṃ | rājapuriso buddhasiṅganidānaṃ likkhāpetvā pesayāmhase aggamahāsenādhipati imaṃ buddhasiṅganidānaṃ niharitvā

³⁰ From *etaṃ saraṇaṃ* to *pamuccati*, cf. *Dhammapada* 192.

sirivaḍhanarañño āropetvā sirivaḍhanapurasmim idam gopetī ti bravi | api ca rājapuriso mahāvisuddhametrī nahutavādibicitta nahutabibiddhasnehānāmikā āgacchamānā dūtāmaccānaṃ nāvaṃ pakhanditvā laṅkāḍipasaṃpamaṃ pattānaṃ pothaviyojala ajjharugaṭe toyenuṭṭhatthamhi mārutajaviciyugatā va titthati aruṇṇagāmassa tiṭṭhasamipe puramadisā bhijjati nāvā cattāro bhikkhū ca dve samaṇerā ca dve vilantamanussā ca aṭṭhajanā samuddhamajjhe maraṇamukhe pattimsu sabbe bhikkhusaṃghasaṃnera rājapurissa vilantamanussā ca pothavikato oro <fol 19> hantā phalakaṃ vā nissāyudake vuyhamānā vā tira sampāpuṇesuṃ dvādasabhikkhusaṃghā ca navasaṃnerā ca dve rājapurisā ca dibhāsavācakaṃpuriso ca catuvejā ca navapesakārā ca ekārāmiko ca sattarasādhika satavilantamanussā ca chādhikapaññāsa satamanussā subhakkhara gurulahu suvaṇṇa rajaṭālaṅkārabhūsa vatthamahagghaṇ ca siridantadhātu pujābhāṇḍārahārājādānaṃ ca gahetvā aruṇṇagāmaṃ maṅgalamahāvihāraṃ vā upanissāya jayabhāsitaṃ nāma porisaṃ paṇṇahatthaṃ aggamahāsenādhīpatino peseyyūṃ aggamahāsenāpati taṃ paṇṇaṃ gaṇhanto gantvāntepuraṃ sirivaḍhanarañño taṃ ārocesi | sirivaḍhanamahārājā piyavādī rājamettiṃ vaḍhento ativiya passanno vāma aggakampahevaddhikārammahassaneva aggamahāsenāpatinā ca catusa vira makkhaggehi paññāsatisatābala <204> nikāyehi pañcādhikapaññāsatisatajanehi saddhiṃ sivikupavārayaticivaragarula hubhaṇḍe pesetvā suddhācāra varaññāmunī pamukkhānaṃ therānūtherānaṃ dāpiyamāno mahāvisuddhametrī anuvādibicitra anubibiddhasanehā saṃkhātarājapurisānaṃ ekamekānaṃ kosayya nivatthavicitramālasatālekaṃ ca visuddha sātākekaṃ ca vatthacatuṅgalikkhivicitra <fol 20> kekaṃ ca uraṅgavattharatarājīsetarājīṇi ca ratamukkarājekaṃ cāti pañcamaṃ vatthaṃ samaṃ diyamāno vejanitabhāsa porisa pesakekārāmikānaṃ kañcakaṃvatthāni ca samaṃ samaṃ saṃghaṃ sakārābhāṇḍa subhakkharaṇ ca rājapurisaṇ ca ajjhesamāno niyamānupavāretvā dvādasadinnaṃ saṃkurakittanagaraṃ sampatto sirivaḍḍhanapurūpakantikaṃ ekāheva añjasam | laṅkāḍipinduttamaraññā saha porisaparivāraṭṭhasatehi sabbesaṃ samaṇarājapurisānaṃ dakkhiṇavarasaṃgharāja pañcarājakulupaka soḷasa anusamgha pālībhāsāyavācugadasa sāmaṇerasenāpati adhikāra mahākiriyaṇarāja karuṇādhikārammahatthamevanāmika anusenāpatitayānaṃ chatimsādhikatthasatānaṃ saṃgha subhakkharupavāriyapesanabhāvo vālu[ka] gaṅgānaḍiṃ sirivaḍḍhanapurūpakantikaṃ sampāpuṇi agh(!)gha gāvutamagga pamānaṃ pi | laṅkāḍipaduttamo saddhassāhajāto āgantvā paṭṭhisāṇṭhāraṃ karonto sagāravana caṃkaratanayuggaṃ datvā ekamekānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ ca gaṇhupavāraya anto sirivaḍḍhana purassa pupphārame sabbe rājapurise kuṭiyāvērānāmike nālīkeravane vassamāno samaṇerānaṃ ca bhikkhūnaṃ ca

nānappakāraṃ civaraparikkhāraṃ datvā suddhe āgāraṃ kārāpento bhojanaṃ rundheyya nānāvidhaṃ kappiyakhādaniyaṃ <fol 21> sāmaṇera bhikkhūnaṃ ca upatthahatthāya | so taṃ tambula mugga phalāhārānamināṃ ca āharāpetvā upacchidati nāvikaḷaṃ rājapurisānaṃ ca | so dipaduttamo āgantvā catupaccayabhesajjaṃ deyyadānaṃ jivitaparikkhāraṃ ca bhikkhūnaṃ datvā te rājapurise rājamaṇḍiraṃ ārohanto sabbālaṅkārehi maṇḍitaṃ paṇāmasubhakkhara dātum ekavāraṃ āruheyya āpucchapaṇāmitum punekavāraṃ ca <205> so tiṇṇaṃ rājapurisānaṃ ekamekaṃ ca vaṭṭasakatidalasannibha aṅgulimuddhika sisakosaraḷaṭa parikkhitatala mūla raḷaṭaraṅgiṭāni ca pañcādhika dvisata cattāḷisādhikadvisata dvesata aṅgularaḷaṭāni ca ekamekānaṃ koseyyapattaraḷaṭa cumbitakaṃ pesanivatthaṃ dasavidhaṃ paṇṇākāraṃ ca tesāṃ nitabhāsa porisavejjapesapurisānaṃ caturasānaṃ ceva adāpayi sirivaḍḍhanapurimahārājā samussāhitamānaso ratanabuddha bimbaṃ siridantadhātuvalaṅjanaṃ ca sasamaṅghikaṃ anuyāyanto vālu[ka]gaṅgānaḍiṃ sampa[tto] attiviya domanassaṃ anubhuyyate varasaṅgharājuttamo sabhikkhusamaṅgho taṃ thānaṃ sampatto domanassaṃ upādayi kasmā tassa niggatalaṅkāḍipamhā te sabbe rājapurisā sabhikkhukā devanagaraṃ āgacchantā kiṅci vikaḷaṃ nāhontī ti paṇṇaṃ paricchijamānayuttaṃ likkheyyaṃ | <fol 22> | * | evaṃ so laṅkuttamindo pasannahadayo pitipāmojjo idam eva kusalaṃ kareyya so narindo dhammikamahārājā somanassapatto tena kusalena tassa raṅṅo anumodi nānapakārena bhiiyoso mattāya | idāni varadhammiko sāmīnduttamo dūtānudutamaccānaṃ rājapaṇṇāhatānaṃ ativiya kāruṅṅo tasmīṃ rājasandesāṃ ānīte rājasāramaṇḍiraṃ pacchā gacchamāne taṃ nīketiṃ rājapurise thānantaranucchavike payojetvānurakkhito pesakārapurise vassāpento pesakārakammaṇa bhaṇḍāgārikapurisaṃ raḷaṭaṃ gāhāpetvā visatipalaṃ samaṃ samaṃ dutānudutamaccānaṃ dāpetvā pañcapalaṃ samaṃ samaṃ dibhāsālaṅkāpurisānaṃ ca pañcapalaṃ dibhāsāvācakavilantassa laṅghipurisānaṃ guru dve paha(?)lā labhisi sā laddhuṃ chapādanti dvepādādhika cha palaṃ deti rājadūtupadūtabhāsāvācakapesakāra porisānaṃ ca bhisibimbohanaṃ kaṭasāchinna minatambulakamukapuvavīkatiṃ ca | sace pi te dutānitabhāsāpesakāraporisā pasamaṅga yaṃ kiṅci pipāsā hontī so tesāṃ upatthāyikaṃ rājamaṇṭrīmahāmaccaṃ raḷaṭaṃ gāhāpeti vikayamānucchavīkāsiṃsanāya | <206> te dūtānudūtāmaccā nigatalaṅkāḍipā gacchamānā tena parigahaṃ dātabbayutakaṃ gāhāpayitvā dukkhasukkhasvatthiṃ ca pucchīyamānā punapunaṃ eva acchindeyyaṃ kiccak atupaṭṭhākarakkharājapurisaṃ khādani <fol 23> yaṃ bhojanīyaṃ paṭipādaya sattāhe sampatte tāni gāhāpayamāno tesāṃ deti yāva laṅkāḍipamhā | api ca so dhammiko rājā cudasannaṃ laṅkāporisānaṃ bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ ariyamunī

pabhūtihi āgatānaṃ ārāmmikānaṃ rajatekapalaṃ ca dve dussayuggaṃ cā ti
 rajaṭavattḥāni tesam deti | api ca tasmim dutānudutataye pavesapaṇāmite
 paramakhattiyasāmino mahādayadharo tesam rājadūtupadutatitūdānaṃ pesavattḥap
 aṇḍarataladasakaṇikekaṃ ca sisupageḷakasukhumatala kāñcanavicittalekkharukkhekaṃ
 ca kañcukelakatalakāñcanumujāveḷikekaṃ ca suvaṇṇagaṇṭhi thūpikapañcavisaṃ ca
 kāyabandhanakosaya cinnarājīsuvaṇṇasādisaṃ vekaṃ ca tīvyaveḷi
 suvaṇṇagaṇṭhikāthūpikekaṃ ca aṅgulimuddhika nilamaṇikaṭakaphalapamāñekaṃ
 ca suvaṇṇa vaṭaṃ sakekaṃ ca suvaṇṇasāpaṃcārikekaṃ ca sovaṇṇataṭakamaṭṭhekaṃ
 ca sajjhukakoraṇḍa kāmbujadaladasekaṃ ca thālisajjhukoṭayi punnekaṃ ca
 rajaṭadabbekaṃ ca dvesuladabba sajjhukekaṃ cā ti sattabhaṇḍāni rājadutassa
 datvā upadutassa mikareḷakatalasuvaṇṇaṃ ca kañcukelakatalanilūmuja
 kāñcaveḷiyekaṃ ca giveyyakaveḷisetavattha sovaṇṇagaṇṭhikā thūpikekaṃ cā ti
 tato mukkhāghāni tīni bhaṇḍāni trīdūta <fol 24> ssa ca kañcukelakatalarattūm
 ujasovaṇṇekaṃ ca aṅgulimuddhikanilamaṇikuñjāphalūmukekaṃ cā ti tato
 mukkhāghāni dve baṇḍāni sattavattḥābharaṇupabhogaṇi samakāni datvā sabbam
 eva sādisaṃ atthi tibhāsāvācakaporisacatulaṅgī ti sattannaṃ porisānaṃ
 sajjhukatakekam ekaṃ ca samaṃ samaṃ deti punekavāraṃ | dutānudute
 sattabandhagiri ārohante paṇāmaya buddhapādavalaṇjanāvagacchite
 bhūmindavara parama siribhāgyadharadhammika mahārājā tiṇṇaṃ
 dutāmaccānaṃ visamakānaṃ pañcavisatipalavisati palapañcadasapalā ti
 rajaṭāni uppadiyamāno <207> ariyamunī pabhūtihi bhikkhūhi saddhim
 āgatānaṃ aṭṭhabrāhmaṇa laṅkāvāsīnaṃ pañcapalatipaladvipalachapādan ti
 rajaṭāni yathākamaṃ duttamaccapesaka porisānaṃ te paññāsajanānaṃ
 pañcapaladvipalatipalan ti rajaṭāni visamakāni datvā tiṇṇaṃ dutamaccānaṃ
 sajjhupādarāja muddhikaṃ koṭetvā catukuñjāgururajaṭavaṭumaṃ yathākammaṃ
 adāsi dve pādādhikasattapalā gaṇanāvasena punekavāraṃ | api ca so mahārājā
 kāruññadharo te dūte pakosāpetvā suriyāmarindanāmike pāsādavare
 upaṭṭhāpento mahārahe rajaṭamaye rājapallaṅke ni <fol 25> sinno mahāmaccehi
 parivārito sajjhubhiṅgārayipunnalikkhaṃ ca sajjhucāṭiyipunnalikkhaṃ ca
 sāmīyakeḷamaḷakaṃ ca yuggakoseyyacinnarājiṃ ca ekakoseyya accalattadesaṃ
 ca tipesāvattḥakaṃ ca tiṃsathāliṃ ca sattarasabhaṇḍa bhājanakhira
 rukkhaniyāsalepaṃ ca chabhaṇḍabhājanakaṃsapaṇḍaraṃ cā ti uppabhogaṇi
 navabhaṇḍāni tesam dūtāmaccānaṃ samakaṃ samakaṃ adāsi | pavesana
 nayanampāpucchake dūtānudūtatayevatasmimparamakhattiyavaṇṇasādhipaccibho
 rājā dūtāmacca bhāsā vācakaporisapesakaporisānaṃ karuṇāvegamussāhita
 mānaso taloddhātādhārā kaṇṇa pesanivatthaṃ mikaramodhdhesa sovaṇṇatalaṃ
 kañcuka kosayavelantā sajjhumbutalūpuja sovaṇṇavicittalatekaṃ kūtāgaṇṭhika

sovaṇṇapañcavīsaṃ sovaṇṇagaṇṭhi puppha tuṅgoddhātakosayaveḷiyagīvakaṅ
ca kāyaveḷisaṇādhāraṅ ca asisapharu kosaparikkhita sajjhukathālikaṅ cā ti
vatthābharaṇāni rājadutassa ca datvā pesanivatthakasetatalaṅ ca
kosayamoddhasovaṇṇatalamikaraṃ kosaya velandāsajjhutalūtuṅga
rajaṭavicitu rukkhakaṅca ca gaṇṭhikasovaṇṇathūpika pañcavīsaṅ ca
pupphatuṅgasetta kosaya veḷigiveyyakaṅ ca gaṇṭhikasovaṇṇaṅ ca <fol 26>
kāyaveṭṭhasaṇādhāraṅ ca asisakosa pharuparikkhitasajjhukakotikaṅ cā ti
vatthābharaṇāni uppadutassa datvā pesanivatthaka setatalaṃ
uṇhisakosayamoddha talasuvaṇṇadesaṅ ca missakakosayutuṅgarajata
talanilavilandā kosayakaṅcākaṅ ca gaṇṭhīkakāñcanathūpikaṅ ca
kosayoddhātutuṅgapuppha <208> sovaṇṇa gaṇṭhīkāthūpikaveḷiyagivaṅ ca
kāyabandhāsamādhāraṅ ca khaggakosa pharuparikkhita sajjhucārikaṅ cā ti
vatthābharaṇāni trīdūtassa ca datvā kaṅcukelaṅkatalaratūtuṅgeḷaka
sajjhugaṇṭhīkasādisaphāraṅgaṅ ca cumbita kosayatarattūtuṅga
suvaṇṇarukkhaṅ ca kāyasannaddhakosayamasrarūrājīṅ ca rajaṭagaṇṭhīka
sādisaphāraṅgapañcadasaṅ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni dibhāsāvācakavilantassa datvā
rajaṭagaṇṭhīkasādisaphāraṅgaṅ ca kāya sannaddhakosaya masrarūrājīṅ ca
kosayelaṅkatalaratūtuṅgeḷaka kaṅcukaṅ ca cumbitamelaṅkatalaratūtuṅgasuvaṇṇar
ukkhaṅ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni dibhāsāvācakalaṅkā vilantassa datvā
kosayamaṅgalāpesavatthakaṅ ca vicitarājīkaṅcukaterasaṅ ca gaṇṭhīka
dantarattaraṅgaterasaṅ ca kosayacinna <fol 27> pesasāṭaka catukkarājīterasaṅ
ca kosayamikarūtuṅga pupphatarattaterasaṅ ca kāyabandhakosaya
cinnarājīrattaterasaṅ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni terasapesakaporisānaṃ datvā kosaya
samasevatarattūtuṅga kadālīpatakaṅcukaṅ ca gaṇṭhīkadantarāṅgarataṅ ca
eḷakatalaratūtuṅga pupphamikaraṅ ca kosayamaṅgalāpesavatthaṅ cā ti
vatthābharaṇāni laṅghījeṭṭhakaporisassa datvā kāya bandhakosaya
cinnarājītucchaṅ ca vicitarājīkaṅvukaṅ ca dantagaṇṭhīkaraṅgarattaṅ ca
mīkarakosayacinna talarattūtuṅgapupphaṅ ca pesanivatthakatabanadesaṅ ca
kāyaveṭṭhana kosayacinna rājītucchaṅ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni laṅghīsīsānaṃ datvā
rājīvicitakaṅcukachatīṃsaṅ ca gaṇṭhīdantachatīṃsaṅ ca
mīkarakosayasamasevachatīṃsaṅ ca pesavatthakasubaraṇa chatīṃsaṅ ca
kosayacinnatuccharājītiṃsaṅ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni tiṃsapesakaporisānaṃ adāsi
ekavāraṃ puna | dūtānudūtāmaccā pavisitvā devamahānagare saṅghitā yāva
paccāgatā kiñci vekalaṃ na honteva | tathā so dhammiko rājā samindādhipatīnāmo
tesaṃ dūtatayapesakaporisānaṃ mahākāruṅṅādhāro sucaritena bhavēyya |
laṅkādiṇḍo sirivaḍḍhanarājā imaṃ kusalaṃ anumodi | <209> api ca
laṅkuttamamahārāje sabbe saṃgha ariyamunino nimantātetvā <fol 28> tamhā

jālanagaramhā anupotaṃ orohitvā āgacchante | kapitallotelante nāmaniyāma-
sabbasmim̃ saṃgha ariyamunimhi pasannacitto sabbe saṃgha ariyamunīnaṃ
manorathaṃ pāpesi te saṅgharājaporisā sabbāgamanā kenaci vikalā na honti |
ekādasaruddha isaraparamanātha nārāyanadasarājadharadhamasetṭho
mahārājā mahāsenāpatinā tam atthaṃ ārocito viditvā pākaṃ kapitallotelante
nāviko vilantajātiko bāhirapakkhito pavārabuddhasāsane pasannacitto sabbe
bhikkhū ariyamunī [pamokkhe]³¹ paṭipajjamāno kanaci avikalāpeti ti rājavācaṃ
bhāsivā pasannacittassa vilantassa catupalagurukekasuvaṇṇasarakaṃ ca
visapalagururajātakoraṇḍakaṃ ca rājaparikkhita daṇḍakosamulattatisulāṃ
kañcukasannaddhayuttaṃ paññāsasovaṇṇagaṇṭhikaṃ ca datvā so
sirivaḍhanapurindo rājā anumodanaṃ karotu iminā rājakusalenā ti āha | api ca
sānusaṅghā visuddhācāriyo pavāraññamunī ca te therā bhikkhū sāsana-jotakaṃ
karontā sirivaḍhanapure vasimsu | tasmim̃ ahontāvasādisāppakāni gimhaṃ ca
hemantaṃ ca dve utūni tesam̃ mahantaṃ <fol 29> vasantautu ativiya sītayuttaṃ
devamahānārasādisam̃ saṃgho sace sukhayutto laṅkāvāsino kulaputte
ovādatthāya pasannacitto tasmim̃ vasitukāmo vasatu saṃgho utuviparināmattā
ābādhiko hutvā phāsukaṃ alabhivā niccavasituṃ asakonto sirivaḍhanapure
aggamahāsenādhipatiṃ tam atthaṃ sirivaḍhanarañño ārocāpesi devanagaraṃ
saṃgha puna vattāpanatthāya iccetaṃ sirivaḍhanarañño kusalaṃ hotu | api ca
sirivaḍhanapuruttamassa laṅkindassa yathājjhāsayaṇurūpena vā
rājamittasaṅghave abhivudhīyā vā maṅgalarāja paṇṇākāre dātukāmo hoti | so
rājā sāmīndādhipati mahārājadharadhamasetṭho nānāpadesa pūjito
sabbaratṭharājūbhipatṭhito paṭidānakovido rājaporisaṃ ariyamunī dūtānudūtamacce
pucchāpeti <210> ariyamunī dūtānudūtamaccā sirivaḍhanapurirājā bodhisambhārena
vijitapaṭhaviyaṃ navajātaṃ suvaṇṇaṅkurabījāṃ pharacamma-sannaddhadhanuṃ ca
suvaṇṇapaṭatanukajālānucha <fol 30> vikalepanabuddhabimbaṃ sirivaḍhanapurimhi
ayapattaṃ ca mahāthālīnuthālīkaṃ ca adhippeti ti vadiṃsu | taṃ sutvā rājapuriso
sirivaḍhana purimahārājā idaṃ cidaṃ ca paṭṭheti ti dūtānudūtakathitavacanaṃ
ekādasaruddha isaraparamanāthanārāyana dasabidhadharadhamasetṭhaya
mahārājuttamassa taṃ ārocesi | taṃ sutvā ca pana so dhammiko mahārājā
dhammadharo medhāvī mahādhiro anāthanātho tamonuddhapaññābhāso
puññānubhāvena lokapajoto devamahānāgare dhajjuttamo sabbadisāsu pākāto
suriyobhāsuro tathāsihanādavācaṃ onādentō rājapaṇṇākāraṃ vikappento
mittasaṅghavaṃ vadheti rājamettiṃ ca sirivaḍhanarājūtassa rājino sucaritena |

³¹ This word is located in a fold of the paper. It is illegible in the photocopy that we possess. One can detect the presence of several characters in the border.

<fol 31> paramadhammikamahārājā uṅhissadhāraṅkuṭuggatañ ca suvaṇṇayikānāmañ ca taṃ thapitarajaṭapelañ ca veduriyamaṇimaya cumbita aṅgulirājamuddhikañ ca taṃ thapita suvaṇṇa dalasamuggaṅ ca rājāvattisovatthikañ ca majjhe rattanamaṇimayaneka ratana paṭimaṇḍita kuḍannuracchaddaṅ ca³² te thapitavijjanarājiruciyaṇṇajusabbā ti aṭṭharājaggabhaṇḍāni ca rājakāyamahadharakaṅcukaṅ ca dasutuṅgagurasannaddhavatthañ ca urabandharājā vatīmekhalañ ca taṃ thapita vijjanarājirupiyamaṇṇajusabbā ti caturājadharabhaṇḍāni ca aggarājā vattīrasaracittakosiyā thapitasatthañ ca dhanuñ ca phalakaṅ ca suvaṇṇanāgasatthānāraṇiṃ cā ti caturājasatthāni ca vijjanarājisuvaṇṇamayamukhā dhāraṃ muggaculasarākaṅ ca dighato caturasaṅgulādhika dvīratanaṇḍulato catura aṅgulādhikadvīratana koseyyapupphutuṅga suvaṇṇataṇavīrocittabimbhohaṇaṅ ca dighato caturasaṅgulādhikacharatana ṇḍulato ekavisaṅgulādhika tīratanaṇḍulato catura pupphutuṅga suvaṇṇatalasucanī nāma vatthañ ca dighato navaṅgulādhikatīratanaṇḍulato aṭṭhārasaṅgulādhika ekaratanakoseyyapupphutuṅga suvaṇṇatalasucanī nāma vararājasayanaṇṇaṃ sattaṃuṭṭhigaṇḍiṅ ca kāṅcanakammujalitadalavati rajaṭasamuggaṅ ca <211> kāṅcanakammu <fol 32> jalitādhāra rupiyabhājanañ ca rājāvativethanarājāvātīmulakuṭamaya maṇikuḍannasuvaṇṇadvisūlañ ca kuḍannamaṇi vethana pharumaṇicumbitamoramāṇidabbiñ ca visapala aṅkurabijjasuvaṇṇaṅ ca taṃ thapita vijjanarājirajaṭasamuggaṅ ca sattanahuttapaṭatanukasuvaṇṇaṅ ca vijjanarājirajaṭamayare nāma bhājanañ ca videssānukoṭarajaṭakhelamalakaṅ ca khacitakoṭarajaṭakumbhiñ ca mugga paṭimaṇḍitappasena phalakaṅ ca chiddadantamaṇṇusacinañ ca dantakhacitavīcitta pharuyutta suvaṇṇatalavijjaniñ ca puppha candacakkayipunavijjaniñ ca dantakhacitavīcitta puppha maṅkararūpañ ca rājāvātīmaya āvīṇṇanarajuñ ca dve ayapatte ca tathā muggamaya pidhānādhāre ca dve patte tathā hatthīkaṇṇamuggakatapidhānādhāre ca dve patte ca tathā rattarājīvīcittena saha muggapidhānādhāre ca dasa ayapatte ca tathā telapākena kamalanāmena rājīvīcittapidhānādhāre ca dasa ayapatte ca tathā telapākena kamalacinanāmena rājīvīcitta pidhānādhāre ca³³ paṇṇarasa ayapatte ca tathā rattarājīvīcittapidhānādhāre ca tetiṃsa ayapatte ca tathā rukkhakāḷīniyāsalepana pidhānādhāre ca ekūnatīṃsayapatte ca tathā rattaniyāsalepana <fol 33> pidhānādhārecaṭṭhīsayipunapāṇaniyāsabhaṇḍānicasattaticinapāṇaniyāsabhaṇḍāni

³² *ddañca* can also be read as well as *dūñca*.

³³ From *dasa ayapatte* to *rājīvīcitta pidhānādhāre* ca the text is doubled, but the second time *kamala* adds: *cina*.

ca tetimsayipunathālānuthāle ca sattatyādhikasatacinathālānuthāle ca te nahutamahanta majjhimaculasuciyo ca dighato navaratanaputhulato caturatanamahantatṭharanañ ca dighato navaṅgulādhika charatana puthulato nava ṅgulāṭikadveratanaculatṭharanañ ca samatimsa pesanavatthañ ca visādhikasatakoseyya vatthañ ca chamahantamajjhimaculasetalohakumbhiyo ca pañcapanñāsarājabhaṇḍāni sirilankādhīpatissa datvā pesesi | * | so ca muggaṅṭhavicittaṅguli muddhikañ ca vijanarājimaṇicumbitavaṭaṃsakañ ca majjhe nilamaṇi cumbitu racchaddhakuḍana rajjunañ ca aṅgulimuddhikathapita suvaṇṇadighasamuggaṅ ca vaṭaṃsa kuracchaddha thapitavijjanarājirajaṭamañju sañ ca paṇḍukacammaṣannaddhaphalakañ ca maṇicumbhitamoramaṇidabbiñ ca rājāvatidvisulañ ca dvenahutapaṭatanukasuvaṇṇaṅ ca vajjanarājirē nāma rajaṭabhājanañ ca maṭṭharajaṭakumbhiñ ca paṇṇarasanānākarapaṭabhaṇḍāni ca visayipunaniyāsabhaṇḍāni ca paññāsacina <212> niyāsabhaṇḍāni ca visayipunathālā nuthālañ ca asīcinathālānuthālañ ca pupphacandacakkayutte yipunavijaniñ ca culatṭharanañ ca samatimsapesanavatthañ ca saṭṭhikoseyyavatthañ ca ekavīsarājabhaṇḍāni siri laṅkādhīpatissa kaniṭṭharājakumārassa adāsi | parama orasso laṅkādhī <fol 34> patissa rājamittasandhavatthāya rājāvatikoseyyayipuna asiñ ca adāsi | * | paramadhammikamahārājā pañcadasanānākarapaṭabhaṇḍāni ca vīsayipunaniyāsabhājanañ ca catārisacinarukkhanīyāsa bhājanañ ca paṇṇarasayipunathālānuthālañ ca pañcatimsacinathālānuthālañ ca suvaṇṇarāji mañjusañ ca telapākarājivicittuccamañjusañ ca tenahutakālamattikasalākañ ca tisahassasuciyo ca dve ratasetakoseyyakāyabandhanāni ca pupphacandacakkayipunavijaniñ ca sakuṇaloma vijaniñ ca aggakuṭamaṇḍapanto catucataṭṭisabhaṇḍānicamaṇḍapabahicudasabhaṇḍānicalaṅkāḍipasaṃgharājassa adāsi | sohaṃ tisahassapaṭatanukasuvaṇṇaṅ ca puppholambana chattañ ca muggena rājivicittabhājanañ ca dvādasanānāsetasuvaṇṇabhājanañ ca soḷasayipu narukkhanīyāsabhaṇḍāni ca tiṃsacinarukkhanīyāsa bhaṇḍāni ca tiṃsa cinathālānuthālañ ca pupphacandavaṭayipunavījaniñ ca tiṃsahassasuciyo aṭṭhapesanavatthañ ca tathā viyūhanavatthañ ca dvādasavaṭakoseyyaṅ ca tathā rajjukoseyyaṅ ca laṅkāḍīpaggasenāpatissa dadāmī ti | siriṣabbaññūparinibbānas aṃvaccharato dvisahassa dvisatanavanavutimusikasamvacchare āsujamāse kāḷapakke sattamītithiyaṃ sukravāre siriayuddhyādevamahānagarato pesitaṃ idaṃ pavarasubhakkharan ti |

2. Pabbajjā / Upasampadakkammavācā³⁴ fragment of the formulas for the ordination of monks

Beginning³⁵ <fol 35>: [ukāsa] karuṇaṃ katvā pabbajjaṃ detha me bhante | ahaṃ bhante pabbajjaṃ yācāmi | dutiyaṃ pi ahaṃ bhante pabbajjaṃ yācāmi tatiyampi ahaṃ bhante pabbajjaṃ yācāmi | sabbadukkhanissara ṇañibbānasacchikaranatṭhāya imaṃ kāsāvaṃ gahetvā pabbājetha maṃ bhante anukampaṃ upādāya || tatiyavāra | sabbadukkhanissa[ra] ṇañibbānasacchikaranatṭhāya etaṃ kāsāvaṃ datvā pabbājetha maṃ bhante anukampaṃ upādāya || tatiyavāra || ukāsa vandāmi bhante sabbaṃ aparādhaṃ khamatha me bhante mayā kataṃ puṇaṃ sāmīnā anumoditabbaṃ sāmīnā kataṃ puṇaṃ mayhaṃ dātabbaṃ sādhu sādhu anumodhāmi || ukāsa karuṇaṃ katvā tisaraṇena saha sīlāni detha me bhante || ahaṃ bhante saraṇasīlaṃ yācāmi || dutiyampi ahaṃ bhante saraṇasīlaṃ yācāmi | tatiyampi ahaṃ bhante saraṇasīlaṃ yācāmi || namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa || **buddha⁸ma³⁶ saraṇa⁸ma gacchāmi dhamma⁸ma saraṇa⁸ma gacchāmi saṃgha⁸ma saraṇa⁸ma gacchāmi dutiyampi tatiyampi || buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi³⁷** dutiyampi tatiyampi || saraṇāgamaṇaṃ || ukāsa āma bhante || pāṇātipātā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | adinnādānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi || abrahmacariyā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | musāvādā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | vikālabhojanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | <fol

³⁴ The text is close but not identical to those provided in Bizot 1988: 26-30 or Dickson 1874: 3-4. I remark that the written forms of characters enhance the double recitation, showing the importance of these crucial points.

³⁵ Gap of 21 words on the left portion of the paper now rubbed and illegible.

³⁶ The calligraphy of the text exhibits clearly the famous pronunciation of the taking of refuge on which rests the validity of the ordination of Theravāda monks. The *Khom* numeral 8 is written above the characters *ddha* of *buddha*. The same is true for the *ṇa* of *saraṇa*, the combination *mma* of *dhamma* and the *gha* of *saṃgha*. Cf. Pallegoix 1896: 64 in the chapter “Elements of grammar for acquiring a knowledge of reading the Siamese characters” which gives precision over this vowel-shortening symbol employed in the Siamese writing: the digit 8 over a vowel gives it a short sound (*lake bpaat or mai taikhu*). This pronunciation is referred to as *makaranta*.

³⁷ This second recitation is that called *niggahītanta*. It is clear that we have here a type of the formula where the taking of refuge is the object of the two wordings, one after another as shown in Bizot 1988: 49.

36>³⁸ sūkadassanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | mālāgandh
 avilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍanavibhūsanatthānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ
 samādiyāmi | uccāsayanamahāsayanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi
 | jātarūparaḷapaṭiggahaṇā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | imāni
 dasasikkhāpadāni samādiyāmi || tatiyavāra || ukāsa vandā | la | anumodāmi
 || ukāsa kārūṇaṃ katvā nissayaṃ detha me bhante | ahaṃ bhante nissayaṃ
 yācāmi | dutiyampi ahaṃ bhante nissayaṃ yācāmi | tatiyampi ahaṃ bhante
 nissayaṃ yācāmi || upajjhāyo me bhante hohi | tatiyaṃ vāraṃ || paṭirūpaṃ ||
 ukāsa sampatiḥchāmi | tatiyavāra || ajjatagge dāni therō mayhaṃ bhāro ahaṃ
 pi therassa bhāro || tatiyavāra || pucchi || ayante patto | āma bhante || ayaṃ
 saṃghāṭi | āma bhante | ayaṃ uttarāsaṅgo | āma bhante | ayaṃ antaravāsako
 | āma bhante | ābādhā kuṭṭhaṃ | natthi bhante | gaṇḍo | natthi bhante | kilāso
 | natthi bhante | soso | natthi bhante | apamāro | natthi bhante | manussosi |
 āma bhante | purisosi | āma bhante | bhujissosi | āma bhante | aṇaṇosi | āma
 bhante | nasi rājabhaṭo | āma bhante | anuñātosī mātāpitūhi | āma bhante
 | paripuṇṇavāsativassosi | āma bhante | paripuṇṇante pattacīvaraṃ | āma
 bhante | kinnāmosi | ahaṃ bhante nāgo nāma | ko nāmo te upajjhāyo] <fol
 37> me bhante āyasmā tissatthero nāma³⁹ saṃghaṃ bhante upasampadaṃ
 yācāmi [u]llumpatu maṃ bhante saṃgho anukampaṃ upādāya dutiyampi
 bhante saṃghaṃ upasampadaṃ yā[cāmi] ullumpatu maṃ bhante saṃgho
 anukampaṃ upādāya tatiyampi bhante saṃghaṃ upasampadaṃ yācāmi
 ullumpatu maṃ bhante saṃgho anukampaṃ upādāya || ⁴⁰ābādhā kuṭṭhaṃ
 | natthi bhante | gaṇḍo | natthi bhante | kilāso | natthi bhante | soso | natthi
 bhante | apamāro | natthi bhante | manussosi | āma bhante | purisosi | āma
 bhante | bhujissosi | āma bhante | aṇaṇosi | āma bhante | nasi rājabhaṭo |
 āma bhante | anuñātosī mātāpitūhi | āma bhante | paripuṇṇavāsativassosi |
 āma bhante | paripuṇṇante pattacīvaraṃ | āma bhante | kinnāmosi | ahaṃ
 bhante nāgo nāma | ko nāmo te upajjhāyo | upajjhāyo me bhante āyasmā
 tissatthero nāma ||⁴¹

³⁸ Gap in the words: *naccagītavādītavi*, in the upper left-hand corner of the following folio at the glued junction. It starts again with: *sūkadassanā* [...]

³⁹ Gap of 21 words at the junction of 2 sheets.

⁴⁰ Gap of 37 words. Starts again with: *ābādhā kuṭṭhaṃ* |

⁴¹ The manuscript ends here.

Appendix

This is a brief survey of the numerous documents concerning the diverse embassies, missions and religious relations between Siam and Laṅkā in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These documents reside currently in Sri Lankan collections and in European libraries. The majority of these documents, little or poorly known, are however, available in public collections but have seemingly been neglected by researchers. The detailed and systematic study of these documents and the collation of their ensemble remains a task in order to shed light on the history of the relations of Buddhist monks of the Theravāda during this period.

1. Manuscript documents written in Sinhalese and Pāli

The British Library, London

BL.Or. 2702

Wickremasinghe 1900: 109 quotes item 98 Egerton 1112 *Saṅgarājavata*.

BL.Or. 6600(126) XI⁴²

Somadasa 1987, vol. I, p. 198. Six olas⁴³ in Sinhalese prose: “*Kīrtiśri Rājasimha Katikāvata* = *Saraṇānkara saṅgharāja katikāvata*. A series of rules for the guidance of monks drawn up by Saraṇānkara saṅgharāja in the reign of Kīrtiśri, B. E. 2290, i. e. A.D. 1747, with a note on the sacerdotal embassy from Siam. [...] Siamese bhikkhus headed by Upāli mahā-sthavira were brought to Ceylon and the first Upasampadā ceremony was celebrated in 1753 A.D. Thus the Syāma nikāya (Siam Nikāya) which continues up to this day was founded in Ceylon. It was after the re-establishment of Upasampadā that KRK I (Kīrtiśri Rājasimha Katikāvata I) was promulgated by the king. Immediately after the establishment of Upasampadā a Katikāvata was considered necessary in order to ensure the purity of the order in the future. The second Katikāvata of Kīrtiśri Rājasimha (KRK II) was intended to provide a body of rules governing the administration of Vihāras [...] 18th century copy.”

⁴² For complete description of these MSS. see: Somadasa 1987-1995.

⁴³ Palm leaves (from Tamil *olei*, leaf). This word has been romanized by travellers and missionaries in India and South East Asia into *ôle*, *olle* (French) or *ola* (English), now officially adopted in Indian codicology for catalogues describing manuscripts written on *Borassus flabellifer* L. or *Corypha umbraculifera* L. in place of folio.

BL.Or. 6601(105) III

Somadasa 1987, vol. I, pp. 405-407: “There are three separate writings, bound together[...] the third is a Pali writing without translation which may be called *Dantadhātu kathā* [...] At the conclusion he adds in a Sinhalese colophon that the king has procured the Upasampadā from Siyama at his request [...] Seven olas in a Pali prose composition on the Tooth Relic by Saranaṅkara saṅgharāja in A.D. 1729 when he was a novice: Śri Dantadhātukathā [...] 18th century copy.”

BL.Or. 6601(105) IV

Somadasa 1987, vol. I, p. 407. Two olas, Sinhalese prose: “*Upasampadā sandeśa asna*. Model of a message to be despatched when requesting assistance for Upasampadā (Higher Ordination) from another country [...] 18th century copy.”

BL.Or. 6604(244)

Somadasa 1990a, vol. III, pp. 300-301. Forty one olas: “*Guṇaratna mālaya: Saṅgarājavata* (kavi) The garland of virtue-gems [...] The works of the king at Kandy are described at great length, and the arrival of the Siyam embassy, which was shipwrecked on its voyage, and received in Ceylon by Āhālapola senevi [...] Unreliable copy; 19th century.”

BL.Or. 6605(8)

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, p. 11. Seven olas in Pāli prose: “*Pali sandesa* (Thailand to Sri Lanka, B. E. 2385). A letter in Pali sent in general to the Saṅgha of Sri Lanka by ten monks of the Dhammayuttika nikāya resident at Paramanivesa-ārāma in Bangkok, with reference to the hospitality offered by the monks and the king of Siam, to four Sinhalese monks and three laymen who came via Penang. The letter is dated [...] A.D. 1842. For printed text see Buddhadatta, Pāli Sandesāvalī, 1962, Letter No. 2, pp. 8-14, and Sinh. tr. pp. 195-199 (summary). 19th century.”

BL.Or. 6605(9)

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, p. 11. Thirteen olas in Pāli prose: “*Siyam sandesa* (Pali) 2 (Thailand to Sri Lanka).⁴⁴ “This is not the Siyam [rāja] sandesaya.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ This is an unreliable transcription in Sinhalese characters of the original document in *Khom* characters which I present in this article. The text has been greatly corrected and interpreted by the scribe.

⁴⁵ See Fernando 1959; Frankfurter 1907.

This sandesa was sent by the Commander-in-chief (Aggamahāsenāpati) of Siam to his counterpart Commander-in-chief of Sri Lanka, reviewing reciprocal gestures of hospitality shown by both countries, the religious fervour brought about by the Siamese mission to Kandy, and enumerates a list of manuscripts and other gifts sent to Kandy. Date is B.E. 2299: A.D. 1756/7⁴⁶ (?) A summary of this sandesa is given in *Syāmavarṇanāva*, ed. 1897, p. 36: Deveni vāraye Siyām sandesayeka sāmānya adahas piṭapata. 19th century”.

BL.Or. 6605(10) I & II

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, pp. 13-14. Two olas in Pāli prose: “*Pāli sandesa* (Thailand to Sri Lanka, B.E.2359). A letter in Pali sent by Sirisumana mahāthera of Pavaranivesa vihāra of Siam, to Laṅkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda mahāthera of Sri Lanka, dated [...] A.D. 1816. The Siamese mahāthera mentions several adverse circumstances which will prevent a ship coming to Sri Lanka in the current year, transporting monks; eg. the Burmese border war with the English; the death of King Paramadhammika mahārāja, and the funeral arrangements made by the royal successor Paramendra Mahāmakuṭa; Subhūti-Samuddamuni also being ill etc.”

Manuscript Or 6605(10) II contains two olas in Pāli prose: “*Pāli sandesa* (Sri Lanka to Thailand) An incomplete Pali sandesa from Sirisumanatissa nāyakathera of Gālle Minivangoḍa Paramānanda vihāra to Ñeyyadhamma saṅgharāja of Siam. 19th century.”

BL.Or. 6605(13)

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, pp. 17-18. Four olas in Pāli stanzas: “*Pāli sandesa* (stanzas) Sri Lanka to Thailand A.D. 1842 A letter in Pāli verse sent to Thailand from Sri Lanka by five Siamese monks headed by Buddhañānathera, who had come on a pilgrimage to Sri Lanka, dated Siamese Saka 1205 [...] They had accompanied the Sinhalese monks mentioned in Or. 6605(8). 19th century.”

BL.Or. 6606(151)

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, p. 254. Four olas in Sinhalese prose: “*Siyam nikāye dānvīm patrayak*. An ecclesiastical circular issued by the Kāraka-mahā-sabhā of the

⁴⁶ According to Somadasa: “Dates in the MS. f.2b9. *Dvissahassa dvisata chanavuti samvacchara*. At the end, *dvisahassa dvisata navuti*. This second date should be *-navanavuti*, thus B.E. 2299; cf. *Syāmavarṇanāva*, p. 40, “mè subha-akṣara hasna agramahāsenādhipatin visin Buddhavarṣayen dedās desiya anūnavaveni varṣayehi vakmasa ava ekolosvak lat Sikurādā Ayōddhapurayen piṭatkaḷēyayi datayutyi. This pr.[previous] version does not contain the list of books.”

Siamese sect headed by Mādagama Dhammarakkhita Devamitta mahānāyaka-thera, announcing that monks of the Siyam nikāya who have joined the Amarapura or Rāmañña nikāyas have no claim to the vihāras of which they were chief incumbents prior to their change of sects, as this has been a court ruling [...] 19th century.”

BL.Or. 6606(157) I

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, pp. 264-265. Fifty eight olas in Sinhalese prose: “*Kusalānukriyāsandesaya*: [Kīrti Śrī Caritaya]. An account of the mission sent by Kīrti Śrī to fetch the Upasampadā in Siam by Vilbāgedara Mudiyanse and Kandapolagedara Mudiyanse at Saka 1675, they returned with 10 priests; 97 priests were ordained in Lanka [...] Early 19th century.”

BL.Or. 6606(158)

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, pp. 265-266. Twenty four olas in Sinhalese prose: “*Kusalānukriyāsandesaya*: [Kīrti Śrī-Rājasimha kusalānukriyāsandesaya]. Excellent copy though incomplete. Early 19th century.”

BL.Or. 6611(48)

Somadasa 1993, vol. V, pp. 48-49. Nineteen olas in Sinhalese quatrains: “*Guṇaratnamālaya*; *Saṅgarājavata*. 19th century.”

BL.Or. 6611(50)

Somadasa 1993, vol. V, pp. 49-50. Twenty olas in Sinhalese quatrains: “*Guṇaratnamālaya*; *Saṅgarājavata*. 19th century.”

National Museum, Colombo

Selection from the catalogue of manuscripts in the National Museum of Colombo. According to De Silva 1938⁴⁷ the manuscripts No. 1984, 1985, 1995 to 2000 concern the Siamese relations Ceylon in the eighteenth century. Here follows a summary of the essential:

National Museum Colombo 1984

Samgharājottama sādhu caritaya, 52 olas in Sinhalese prose. The life of Saraṇaṅkara Saṅgharāja and an account of the arrival of the Mahā Thera Upāli from Siam; ordination of monks at Kandy in 1779 A.D., under the reign of Kīrti Śrī Rāja Sinha.

⁴⁷ De Silva 1938.

National Museum Colombo 1995

Śyāma varṇanāva, 30 olas in Sinhalese prose, copied from a manuscript by P.E. Peiris, 1903 A.D.: a relation of the introduction of the Siamese Buddhist ordination at the request of King Kīrti Śri Rājasinha in 1753 A.D.

National Museum Colombo 1996

Śyāma varṇanāva, 48 olas in Sinhalese prose, copied from a manuscript of P.E. Peiris, 1903 A.D. by U.W.M. Kirtiratne: a relation of the introduction of the Siamese Buddhist ordination at the request of King Kīrti Śri Rājasinha in 1753 A.D.

National Museum Colombo 1997

Śyāmopasampadā vata, 39 olas in Sinhalese prose and citations in Pāli: a relation of the introduction of Siamese Buddhist ordination, compiled by Siddhārtha Buddharakṣita Mahāsthavīra, a disciple of Vālivīta Piṇḍapātika Saranaṅkara Sangharāja from Uposathārāma at Kandy. Written in 1776 A.D. according to the memoirs of Vilbāgedara Mudiyanse. This copied manuscript comes from Bhōpe Vihāra, Galle district and is dated 1887 A.D.

National Museum Colombo 1998

Śyāmopasampadāvata, 65 olas in Sinhalese prose: a relation of the introduction of Siamese Buddhist ordination for monks during the reign of Kīrti Śri Rājasinha (1747-1781 A.D.). This copy is dated 1807 in the *śaka* era (1885 A.D.).

National Museum Colombo 1999

Siyāmopasampadāva, 4 olas in Sinhalese verse: a relation of the introduction of Siamese Buddhist ordination for monks during the reign of Kīrti Śri Rājasinha (1747-1781 A. D.). No date.

National Museum Colombo 2000

Siyam sandeśaya, 10 olas in Pāli prose and verse: a letter addressed to the king of Siam in 2289 of the Buddhist era (1756 A.D.) describing the state of Buddhism in Ceylon.

Beginning: pavarajinavaracaraṇaravindamakuṭānijasirasi
samalaṃkaṭaṃ niyyānikasapariyattikanava lokuttarasaddham
mamuttābhāravibhusitaṃ sugatasutasamgharatana sabbābhūsitam
asesadesapatthaṭa atula asadisayaso tejappatāpabalaparakkamaṃ
siyaṃ desādhipati mahārājānaṃ harihara hiraññagabbha

dhataratṭha viruḷha virūpakkha vessavaṇadihi mahānubhāvasamp
annadevarājagaṇhī āyurārogādī sakalā bhivāddhivaddhanam katvā
ciram sampālanatthāya pesitasamdesam nāma — [...]

End: [...] lamkāya sāsānābhivuddhikata kusalanubhāvena diva
manujasukham anubhavitvā anekasatasāvaka-parisaṃ aṭṭhasīti
ratanabbeddha buddhakāyaṃ suvaṇṇavaṇṇam dassanīyaṃ
metteyyabuddhamupagata so pi metteyyo sammāsambuddho
catu-parisaṃmajjhe tumhākaṃ pasamsissatīti—sugatasamvaccharato
disahassa disata ekuna navuti samvacchare phussamāse
sirīlamkāḍīpavāsīhī sāmaṇerehi gaṇapāmokkhappattādi sīlācāra
gaṇakāraṇam bhikkhunaṃ pesitasandesoti—⁴⁸

Despite the difference in dates (1746 and 1756? probably a mistake), this seems to be the same manuscript that one finds described in de Silva 1938: 309 under number 2000 according to “Pali Text Society Report, List of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Colombo Museum” *JPTS* 1882: 54, it is mentioned under number 23: “*Siyam Sandēsa*. (Letters written to the King of Siam by Buddhist Bhikkhus in Ceylon, A.D. 1746. Copied from original copies preserved at Hittetiya Monastery at Matara.”

Sri Lanka monasteries

Selection from the National Catalogue of Manuscripts of Sri Lanka: Somadasa 1959, vol. I, p. 92

- *śyāma nikāyika sīma saṃkaraya* 361
- *śyāma vata* 31
- *śyāma sandeśa, siyam sandeśa* 310, 407, 437, 620, 692(3)
- *śyāmopasampada kramaya hā vinayakarma vidhi* 429
- *śyāmopasampadanīta bhikṣu nāma mālā* 494
- *śyāmopasampadavata* 196, 214, 446, 590, 689

p. 107

⁴⁸ This refers without a doubt to the letter from King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha requesting the King of Siam to send a religious mission to Ceylon in order to re-establish a correct manner for the ordination of monks.

- *siyamaṭa yavatalada sandeśaya* 578
- *siyam upasampadavagunavistarayak hā vinayakarunu* 650
- *siyam deśīya varanugilla* 31
- *siyam nikāya piḷibanda vāda lipiyak* 598
- *siyam nikāye upasampada karmaya* (siṃhala) 663
- *siyam buruma ādi sandeśa* 365
- *siyam mahanikāye malvatu pārśvaye katikāvatak hā sandeśayak* (siṃhala) 650
- *siyam rajuge sandeśa piṭapana* (pāli) 305
- *siyam raṭin upasampadava gena ime puvata* 513
- *siyam sandeśa, śyāma sandeśa* 310, 407, 437, 620, 692(3)

Somadasa 1964, vol. II, p. 70

- *śyāmanikāyadīpanī* (pāli) 598
- *śyāmavarṇanāva* 632, 642
- *śyāmopasampadāvata* 512, 644
- *śyāmopasampadā vivaraṇaya* 484
- *śyāmopālinikāye upasampadā vistaraya* 520 (a)
- *śyāmopālivamśika sāsanavāritravidhi, sāsanapravātti kathāva ba*
p. 79-80
- *siyame dhārmika rajatumāge puṇyakaraṇa pravātti* 670
- *siyame dhārmika raju kīrti śrīrājasimharajuṭa pin anumodankoṭa*
phavanalada sandeśaya 670
- *siyamtānāpati vistaraya* 522
- *siyamdeśayen laṃkāvaṭa upasampadava genāvistaraya* 389
- *siyamnikāya samaṅga vādaliyumak* 506
- *siyamrajuge puṇyānumodanāva* 670
- *siyamratnamālaya* (siṃhala, kavi) (kaṭupīṭiye māṭiḷu) 632

- *siyam liyum* 517
- *siyamvinayapota* [Siamese book on Vinaya?] 522
- *siyam sandeśaya* 424, 672
- *siyāmdesa gamaṇam prakaraṇaya* 512

2. A selected bibliography of printed studies and mentions concerning the *syāmasandesa* in European languages

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⁴⁹ I have seen this book in EFEO Chiang Mai library [BUD.TEXT D533S]. A paper is attached to the book giving in typescript an English abstract of the introduction. I copy here a quotation of interest about *Saddhammasaṅgaha* and *Sotabbamālinī*: “A great couple of compilations of the Saṅgharaja: in accordance with the information given in the introduction of this new edition *Saddhamma Saṅgaha*, Ven. Pandit Puññasāra indicated that the manuscripts of these two works

Sihingānidāna, v. Notton, C., *P'ra Buddha Sihinga*

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Abbreviations

BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BL.Or.	The British Library Oriental Collections and India Office, London.
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
EFEO DATA	Filliozat: École française d'Extrême-Orient database on Pāli studies. Available at École française d'Extrême-Orient library, 22, Avenue du Président-Wilson 75116 Paris and Southeast Asia EFEO centers (Bangkok, Chiang Mai, Vientiane, Phnom Penh). Free CD-ROM on request < jacqueline.filliozat@orange.fr >.
JCBRAS	<i>Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JPTS	<i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of the Siam Society</i>
PTS	Pali Text Society
PLTCS	<i>Pāli literature transmitted in Central Siam</i> see Skilling P. & Pakdeekham 2002.
SPAFA	<i>Journal of SEAMEO Regional Center for Archaeology and Fine Arts.</i>